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## ARABIC LISTS OF THE BYZANTINE THEMES.<sup>1</sup>

OF the themes of the Byzantine Empire there exists in Greek only one systematic account, the confused and discursive work of Constantine Porphyrogennetos, from which little trustworthy information as to the history of the themes before the accession of the Macedonian dynasty can be gathered.<sup>2</sup> The same author has also preserved a table of precedence drawn up by Philotheos the protospatharios in the year 899,<sup>3</sup> which includes the generals of the various themes existing at that time; and he has himself given us a record of the salaries paid to the generals in the time of Leo VI.<sup>4</sup> This lack of information may, however, be in part supplied from the Arab geographers, who provide us with five catalogues of the themes, the earliest of which, that of Ibn Khurdadhbih,<sup>5</sup> is fifty years earlier than the list of Philotheos and about one hundred years earlier than Constantine's work. With this catalogue that of Al Idrisi (1154)<sup>6</sup> is practically identical. The other three are that of Ibn Al Fakih Al Hamadhani (*circ.* 902), preserved in the Geographical Dictionary of Yakut<sup>7</sup> (1224), that of Kudama<sup>8</sup> (*circ.* 930), and that contained in the *Khitab Al Tanbih wal Ishraf* (Book of celebration and observation) of Al Mas'udi<sup>9</sup> (956). Of these descriptions those of Ibn Khurdadhbih and Kudama have been translated into French by Prof. De Goeje, and that of Al Mas'udi by M. Carra de Vaux; of that of Ibn Al Fakih I give a translation below. The first four, though each contains matter not found in the others, closely resemble one another and are clearly

<sup>1</sup> The following article was already written before I saw the admirable work of Prof. Gelzer, *Die Genesis d. Byz. Themenverfassung* in the *Abhandl. d. Kön. Sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wissenschaften*, xli. No. V. which in part covers the same ground. But, though it has enabled me to make a few corrections and additions, it by no means makes my article superfluous, since the author makes no use of Ibn Al Fakih and very little of Al Mas'udi.

<sup>2</sup> There are also some notices relating to the themes in the *De Adm. Imp.* (Const. Porph. iii. pp. 220-231).

<sup>3</sup> *De Caer.* 2, 52 (ed. Bonn. i. pp. 713-715, 727, 728).

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.* 2. 50.

<sup>5</sup> Edited and translated by De Goeje (Bibl.

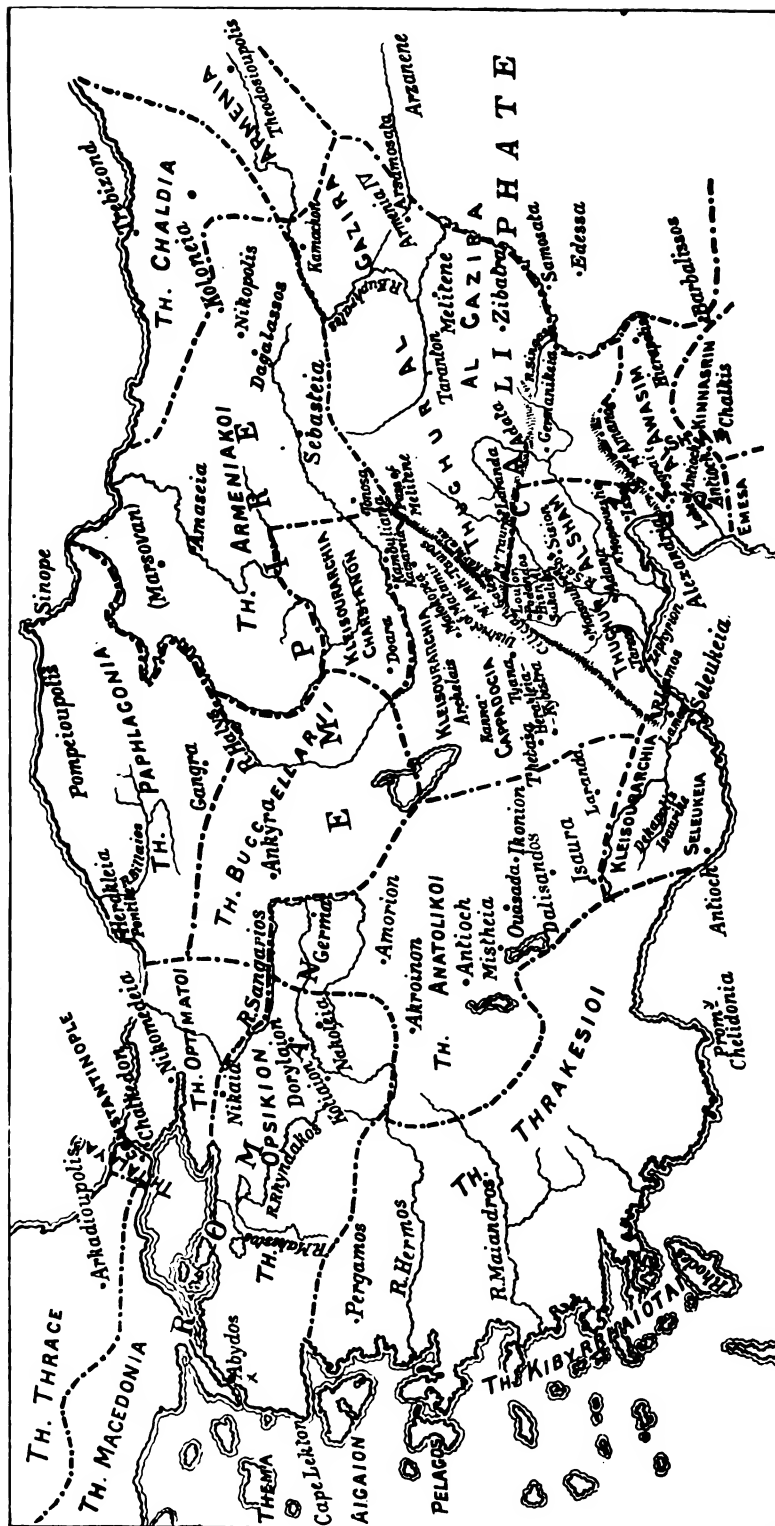
Geog. Arab. vi. p. 77 ff.). The date was probably 845-8 (*id.* p. xix. ff.).

<sup>6</sup> Transl. Jaubert ii. p. 299 ff. The full Arabic text remains unpublished. Al Idrisi gives only the Asiatic themes.

<sup>7</sup> Ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. p. 863 ff. The description of Macedonia is also in iv. pp. 602, 603, where it is cited as from 'Ibn Al Fakih in the account of the districts of the Romans.' An epitome of Ibn Al Fakih's work has been edited by De Goeje (*op. cit. pars v.*), but it does not contain the account of the themes.

<sup>8</sup> Edited and translated by De Goeje (*op. cit.* vi. p. 197, ff.).

<sup>9</sup> Edited by De Goeje (*op. cit.* viii. p. 176, ff.); translated by Carra de Vaux (Paris 1896).



MAP OF THE BYZANTINE THEMES IN THE NINTH CENTURY A.D.

derived from the same source. Al Mas'udi also seems to have used this source, but his description differs so widely from the others that he must be assumed to have used some other authority also. The three earlier authors give an identical list of fourteen themes, which in Kudama and Ibn Al Fakih are arranged as follows: 1 Talaya (Kud. Tayala), 2 Thrace, 3 Macedonia, 4 Paphlagonia, 5 Optimatoi, 6 Opsikion, 7 Thrakesioi, 8 Anatolikoi, 9 Seleukeia, 10 Cappadocia, 11 Charsianon, 12 Buccellarii, 13 Armenia, 14 Chaldia. In Ibn Khurdadhbah the first theme is called Tafla or Talaka, and Seleukeia and Cappadocia are placed at the end. As will be seen, and as is expressly stated by the authors, three of these are in Europe and eleven in Asia. Al Mas'udi also gives fourteen names; but of these five are in Europe and nine in Asia, his list being as follows: 1 Anatolikoi,<sup>1</sup> 2 Opsikion, 3 Thrakesioi, 4 Kibyrrhaiotai (?),<sup>2</sup> 5 Cappadocia, 6 Buccellarii, 7 Optimatoi, 8 Armeniakoi, 9 Paphlagonia, 10 Tayala, 11 Thrace, 12 Macedonia, 13 Peloponnesos, 14 Thessalonike. Besides these he mentions Seleukeia, Charsianon, and Koloneia as regions in the themes of Kibyrrhaiotai, Armeniakoi, and Paphlagonia respectively.<sup>3</sup> He differs from the other authors by adding Peloponnesos<sup>4</sup> and Thessalonike to the European themes and Kibyrrhaiotai and Koloneia to the Asiatic themes and omitting Chaldia. His description can, however, scarcely represent the state of affairs in his own time, since he takes no account of the themes of Mesopotamia and Lykandos, which were added by Leo VI.,<sup>5</sup> and Seleukeia, which was raised to the rank of a *στρατηγίς* by Romanus I.,<sup>6</sup> is called by him a 'region,' by which a *κλεισοῦρα* is no doubt meant. Otherwise, when we compare his list with Constantine's (which with the inclusion of Cappadocia and Charsianon, mentioned under Armeniakoi, contains thirty-one names,<sup>7</sup>) if we set aside the European themes, where we cannot expect accuracy, and the island

<sup>1</sup> 'Al Anti Mati [Optimatoi], and that is the army of Al Natalik [Anatolikoi]. The Optimates are however mentioned later, and the description here following is clearly that of the Anatolikoi.

<sup>2</sup> 'Nantiliya (v. l. 'Nantuliliya'), and that is Dakabuli [Dekapolis]. De Goeje supposes this to stand for Pamphylia; but it seems rather to represent Anatolikoi, though the description can hardly apply to any other theme than Kibyrrhaiotai.

<sup>3</sup> The last clearly by error, since he says himself that the Armeniac theme reached to the sea. As to Seleukeia see Gelzer, p. 93, note, and below, p. 71, note 10.

<sup>4</sup> The theme of Peloponnesos existed in 811 (Anon. *de Leon. Arm.* in Bonn. Corpus, xxx. p. 336), and a seal of a *στρατηγός* is ascribed by Schlumberger (*Sigillographie de l'Empire Byzantin*, p. 179) to the eighth century. The passage adduced by Gelzer from Const. *De Adm. Imp.* (ed. Bonn, iii. p. 221, l. 3-10) to show that Peloponnesos was made a theme in the

time of Michael III. is insufficient to prove this. The omission of European themes cannot however be used to fix the dates of the Arabic lists, since all omit Hellas, which existed in 695 (Theoph. A M 6187). This passage is neglected by Gelzer, who ascribes the institution of this theme also to the time of Michael III.

<sup>5</sup> Const. Porph. iii. pp. 31, 32. Lykandos however was not made a *στρατηγίς* till the regency of Zoe (912-919); *id.* p. 228.

<sup>6</sup> Const. Porph. iii. p. 36.

<sup>7</sup> The list in *De Cuer.* 2. 50. differs from that in *De Them.* by omitting Optimatoi and Cyprus and adding Leontokomis and Dalmatia. As this list gives the salaries of the generals, the omission of Optimatoi is no doubt due to its being under a *δομέστικος*. The three lists in *De Cuer.* 2. 52 include the *δομέστικος τῶν ὀπτιμάτων*, but omit Mesopotamia, Sebasteia, Lykandos, Seleukeia, Leontokomis, and Lombardy, probably because they were under officers of lower rank.

themes of the Aegean, Samos, and Cyprus, the only difference is that Al Mas'udi omits Sebasteia and Chaldia; the latter, being included in the earlier Arabic list, has perhaps been omitted by an oversight.<sup>1</sup> That it is later than the other lists follows from the inclusion of Koloneia and from the description of Cappadocia as a *στρατηγίς* instead of a *κλεισοῦρα*, as it appears in these. On the other hand the fact that Koloneia, which was a *στρατηγίς* in 863,<sup>2</sup> appears as a *κλεισοῦρα* shows that it is earlier than that date.<sup>3</sup>

The earlier list is cited by Ibn Khurdadhbah from Muslim Ibn Abi Muslim Al Garmi. Of this man we learn from Al Mas'udi that he was among the prisoners exchanged in 845,<sup>4</sup> and he is described in the following terms: 'He was a man who held a post<sup>5</sup> on the frontier and was possessed of knowledge as to the people of the Romans and their country; and he wrote books containing information about the Romans and their kings and the men of rank among them, and their districts and the roads and ways through them, and the times of making raids into their country and invasions of it, and about their neighbourhood to the territories of the Burgan and the Avars and the Burghur and the Sakaliba [Slavs] and the Chazars and others.'<sup>6</sup> Al Garmi's work can hardly have been published till after his return from captivity, and therefore not before 845, but his information was no doubt collected at an earlier time. The reference to Amorion as containing forty-four towers, which we find in Ibn Khurdadhbah, seems to point to a time earlier than the destruction of that city in 838,<sup>7</sup> but on the other hand the statement that Marg Al Shahm was the seat of the *στρατηγός* of the Anatolic theme indisputably dates from a time later than the destruction of Amorion. Probably therefore the author has merely added this account of Amorion without troubling himself about the fact that it was no longer true. The list itself also apart from its connexion with Al Garmi supplies a *terminus a quo* by the inclusion of Macedonia, for in 789 we find the general of Thrace commanding on the Strymon<sup>8</sup> and may therefore infer that the theme of Macedonia had not then been instituted.<sup>9</sup> At first sight it appears that we might fix the date still later, for about 836 we find the

<sup>1</sup> Unless indeed we are to bring this into connexion with the omission of Chaldia in Theoph. Cont. p. 81 (Gelzer p. 99), and suppose that the theme of Chaldia was temporarily suppressed or its territory temporarily lost to the Empire.

<sup>2</sup> Theoph. Cont. l.c.

<sup>3</sup> Similarly Charsianon, which in Al Mas'udi is a *κλεισοῦρα*, appears in 873 as a *στρατηγίς* (Genesisius, p. 122), and Sebasteia, not mentioned by him, was a *κλεισοῦρα* under Leo VI. (Const. Porph. i. p. 697, iii. p. 227).

<sup>4</sup> Or brought up for exchange. As he denied the creation of the Kuran, it is not clear whether he was actually exchanged at this time.

<sup>5</sup> I cannot make anything else of 'dha

mahal.' Carra de Vaux and Barbier de Meynard (*Prairies d'Or*, ix. p. 357) omit the expression in translation.

<sup>6</sup> *Tanbih*, p. 190; Transl. p. 257.

<sup>7</sup> Ibn Al Fakih's statement that Amorion was in the author's time waste need not necessarily be derived from Al Garmi, but may be an insertion either of Ibn Khurd. (see p. 71, note 4), or of Ibn Al Fakih himself.

<sup>8</sup> Theoph. A M 6281.

<sup>9</sup> It existed however in 802 (*id.* A M 6294), and a seal of Sergius, *στρατηγός* of Macedonia, is ascribed by Schlumberger (*Sigillographie de l'Empire Byzantin*, p. 111), to the eighth century. It is not unlikely that its institution was a consequence of the disaster of 789.

commander of the Paphlagonian forces called *κατεπάνω*,<sup>1</sup> while in our list he is entitled *στρατηγός*. If however the account of the installation of the various officers in Const. Porph. *De Cuer.* 2. 53, where we find the expression *προβαλλομένου δὲ ἐκ προσώπου στρατηγοῦ ἢ κλεισουράρχου ἢ κατεπάνω Παφλαγωνίας*,<sup>2</sup> refers to the Emperor's own time, we should probably infer that *κατεπάνω* was always the strict legal designation of the Paphlagonian commander, though he was commonly described as *στρατηγός*.<sup>3</sup> It has however on other grounds been made clear that Al Gar'mi's list dates 838-848 and Al Mas'udi's 845-863. Whether Kudama and Ibn Al Fakih drew directly from Al Gar'mi or from the full text of Ibn Khurdadhbah<sup>4</sup> there is no certain evidence to show; but probably the latter was the case, since Ibn Khurdadhbah was personally known to Kudama's father<sup>5</sup> and is often cited by Ibn Al Fakih,<sup>6</sup> while neither mentions Al Gar'mi.

On examining Al Gar'mi's list two remarkable points are at once apparent, the omission of Kibyrrhaiotai, which is peculiar to it, and the insertion of the puzzling Talaya, which it shares with Al Mas'udi. The former may in part be explained by supposing that the list is a military one and therefore takes no account of the naval theme,<sup>7</sup> but the fact that in giving the boundaries of the themes he wholly ignores Kibyrrhaiotai, making Thrakesioi extend to the Southern Sea and to the borders of Seleukeia shows that the explanation lies deeper than this. Constantine in his description of Kibyrrhaiotai assigns to it the Isaurian coast-towns, which he also assigns to Seleukeia,<sup>8</sup> and similarly in his account of the other naval theme of the Aegean assigns to it the coast extending from the promontory of Lekton to the Rhyndakos, which he also assigns to Opsikion.<sup>9</sup> From these facts we may, I think, infer that the commander of the naval themes had at this time no separate territorial jurisdiction except in the islands, but for naval purposes exercised authority in the coast-towns, which remained in other respects under the jurisdiction of the military officers,<sup>10</sup> and that, when a definite territory was assigned to Kibyrrhaiotai, the Isaurian coast-towns, which were not included in it, remained on their old footing with regard to that theme. As to Talaya the solution is more difficult. No Greek writer mentions any such

<sup>1</sup> Const. Porph. iii. p. 178; Theoph. Cont. p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> Const. Porph. i. p. 788.

<sup>3</sup> He is called *στρατηγός* in 863 (Theoph. Cont. p. 181), and we find Paphlagonia described as a *θέμα* as early as the time of Michael II (Mich. Mon. vii. *Theod. Stud.* 54).

<sup>4</sup> Our present text is incomplete (De Goeje p. xv. ff.)

<sup>5</sup> *Id.* p. xxii. His account of the raiding-seasons (p. 199) clearly comes from Al Gar'mi (see above p. 70), but may have been in the full text of Ibn Khurd.

<sup>6</sup> De Goeje *B.G.A.* v. p. xii.

<sup>7</sup> In the work of Philotheos (Const. i. p. 715) we find Kibyrrhaiotai among the western

themes. See also Gelzer p. 105.

<sup>8</sup> Const. iii. pp. 35, 38.

<sup>9</sup> *Id.* pp. 25, 43, 44.

<sup>10</sup> It may have been this fact which led Al Mas'udi to make the mistake of making Seleukeia part of Kibyrrhaiotai. It is however possible, but not likely, that before 863 a territory had been assigned to the commander of the Kibyrrhaiotai and the *κλεισουράρχης* of Seleukeia placed under him. The expression 'τῷ ἀκρωτηρίῳ τῶν Κιβυρραίων τῷ λεγομένῳ Χελιδονία' (Geo. Mon. p. 720) does not prove territorial jurisdiction, since George is speaking of naval affairs and therefore writing from the naval point of view.

theme, and Constantine expressly says that Constantinople, which the Arabs include in Talaya, was in the theme of Thrace. But, though it may have been reckoned as geographically part of Thrace, the troops in the capital were doubtless not under the *στρατηγός* of Thrace but probably directly under the *δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν*,<sup>1</sup> and we may perhaps infer from the Arabic writers that his immediate authority extended to the long wall. This however still leaves the name unexplained, and it is very difficult to find a satisfactory explanation of it. Prof. De Goeje, adopting the less-attested reading 'Tafra,' takes it to represent *Τάφρος*, and this explanation is accepted by Prof. Gelzer; but I do not know any instance of this word being used with this geographical meaning and should rather take the Arabic word to be a corruption of the name of some military force, perhaps connected with *παλάτιον* or with *τάγματα*.<sup>2</sup>

As to the information supplied by Al Garmi, besides the doubtful case of the *στρατηγός* of Paphlagonia, his list contains the earliest record of the theme of Chaldia and of the *κλεισοῦραι* of Seleukeia and Charsianon,<sup>3</sup> and the latest mention of Cappadocia as a *κλεισοῦρα*.<sup>4</sup> He also throws much new light on the boundaries of the themes. On other points of interest I have added notes to the translation of the catalogue of Ibn Al Fakih, which follows. At the end of the catalogue I have given a translation of a comment of Yakut, which throws some interesting light on the changes which had taken place in Asia Minor during the three hundred years between Ibn Al Fakih's time and his own.

#### *Catalogue of Ibn Al Fakih.*

Ahmad the son of Mahomet, the Hamadhani,<sup>5</sup> says: The whole number of the provinces of the Romans which are known and named and an accurate report of which has reached us is fourteen provinces, three of which are beyond the Khalig<sup>6</sup> and eleven on this side of it. And the first of the three beyond the Khalig is called Talaya (?), which is the district of Al Kustantiniya (Constantinople); and its boundary on the eastern side is the Khalig, which starts from the sea of the Chazars and extends to the sea of Al Sham [Syria], and on the south the sea of Al Sham, and on the west a wall which reaches from the sea of Al Sham to the sea of the Chazars and is called Makroun Teichos, the meaning of which is 'the long wall'; and the length of it is four days' journey, and it is about two days' journey from Al

<sup>1</sup> Gelzer (pp. 87, 88) believes that they formed an actual theme under the prefect of the city and that this was suppressed by Leo VI. This is plausible, but the evidence for the military authority of the prefect is very weak.

<sup>2</sup> See De Boor's index to Theophanes s.v. *τάγμα*. Talaya might also represent 'τὴν αὐλήν' or 'τὰ ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ (τάγματα).' It is a tempting but somewhat too daring conjecture that it stands for 'τὴν Ἑλλάδα,' and that Al

Garmi through some blunder supposed this to be Constantinople. This would explain the apparent omission of Hellas.

<sup>3</sup> Charsianon is mentioned as a *κλεισοῦρα* in 863 (Theoph. Cont. p. 181). See also p. 70, note 3.

<sup>4</sup> It was a *στρατηγία* in 863 (Theoph. Cont. l.c.) and appears as such in Al Mas'udi.

<sup>5</sup> I.e. Ibn Al Fakih.

<sup>6</sup> See *J.H.S.* xviii. p. 194, note 5; xix. p. 23.



Kustantiniya. And most of this district consists of the estates of the king and the patricians and meadows for their cattle and draught-animals. And in describing the districts of the Romans I have not been able to attain exactitude and orthographic correctness in the names, and I beg any one who inspects my book to forgive this. But, if any one had aptitude and knowledge and had obtained information as to any of them, I listened to his laudable correction.<sup>1</sup>

And beyond this province is the province of Trakiya (Thrace); and its boundary on the eastern side is this long wall, and on the south the province of Macedonia,<sup>2</sup> and on the west<sup>3</sup> the districts of Burgan (Bulgarians), <and on the north the sea of the Chazars, and its length is><sup>4</sup> fifteen days' journey, and its breadth from the sea of the Chazars to the boundary of the province of Macedonia three days' journey. And the seat of the imtratighus [στρατηγός] (the wali)<sup>5</sup> is a fortress called Arkada (Arkadioupolis), seven days' march from Al Kustantiniya; and its army consists of five thousand men.

Next the province of Macedonia; and its boundary on the east is the long wall, and on the south the sea of Al Sham, and on the west the districts of the Sakaliba [Slavs], and on the north the districts of Burgan; and its breadth is five days' journey,<sup>6</sup> and the seat of the imtratighus (meaning the wali)<sup>7</sup> is a fortress called Bandus<sup>8</sup>; and its army consists of five thousand men.

Now these three districts are those which are beyond the Khalig; and on this side of the Khalig there are eleven provinces; and the first of them in the country lying upon the sea of the Chazars extending to the Khalig of Al Kustantiniya is the province of Aflaguniya [Paphlagonia]; and the first of its boundaries marches upon Al Antimat [Optimatoi],<sup>9</sup> and the second is the sea of the Chazars, and the third marches upon the Armeniakoi, and the fourth upon the Buccellarii: and the seat of the imtratighus is Ayalai (?), which is a village, and a town called Naikus (Nikopolis?), and he has another seat named Siwas (Sebasteia ?)<sup>10</sup>; and its army consists of five thousand men.

<sup>1</sup> It is not clear whether this apology is to be ascribed to Ibn Al Fakih or to Yakut.

<sup>2</sup> From the omission of the 'Khalig' among the boundaries and the statement below that the E. boundary of Macedonia was the long wall it is clear that the Thracian theme did not reach to the Propontis.

<sup>3</sup> Al Garmi seems to have been in some confusion as to the points of the compass, since Bulgaria was clearly the N. and the Euxine the E. boundary. Similar errors are often found in Kudama, who, unlike Ibn Al Fakih, gives the points of the compass for the Asiatic themes also.

<sup>4</sup> The sentence, as it stands in the text, can hardly be translated, and a comparison with Ibn Khurdadhibah and Kudama shows that these words have fallen out.

<sup>5</sup> The explanation is perhaps due to Yakut.

<sup>6</sup> The length has perhaps fallen out.

<sup>7</sup> Clearly an insertion of Yakut.

<sup>8</sup> Wüstenfeld suggests Abydos; if this is right, there must be some confusion. Possibly Kassandreia is meant, but more probably the author has taken Βάρδον for a proper name; cf. Al. Mas. p. 176; transl. p. 239 and note.

<sup>9</sup> This shows that Paphlagonia reached much farther west than in Constantine's time, when it stopped at the Billaos, the intervening space being occupied by the Buccellarii (Const. iii. pp. 28, 29). That this is not a mere slip appears from the fact that our author places Optimatoi 'by the side' of Paphlagonia. See also p. 76, note 3. Al Mas. however makes Buccellarii extend to the sea, and the change had therefore been made before 863. Kudama in describing the boundaries of Optimatoi includes Paphlagonia and omits Buccellarii.

<sup>10</sup> Neither Nikopolis nor Sebasteia can ever have been in Paphlagonia, and at the end Yakut says that Sebasteia is not mentioned by Ibn Al Fakih. Moreover Siwas seems to be a form of

And by the side of it is the province of Al Antimat [Optimatoi]; and its first boundary is the Khalig;<sup>1</sup> and its army consists of four thousand men. And the men of this province are devoted to the king's service and are not men of war.<sup>2</sup>

And by the side of it is the province of Opsikion; and its first boundary is the Khalig, and its second Al Antimat, and its third the province of Al Natulikus [Anatolikoi], and its fourth the province of Brakisis [Thrakesioi];<sup>3</sup> and the seat of the imtratighus is the fortress of Batana;<sup>4</sup> and its army consists of six thousand men.

And by the side of it is the province of Brakisis [Thrakesioi]; and its first boundary is the Khalig,<sup>5</sup> and its second Opsikion, and its third the province of Al Natulikus, and its fourth the sea of Al Sham<sup>6</sup>; and the seat of the imtratighus is in the fortress of Al Warithun; and its name is Kaniyus, and Al Warithun is the name of the district; and its army consists of ten thousand men.

And by the side of it is the province of Al Natulikus [Anatolikoi], the meaning of which is 'the east'; and it is the largest of the provinces of the Romans;<sup>7</sup> and its first boundary is Opsikion and Al Brakisis, and its second the province of the Buccellarii;<sup>8</sup> and the seat of the imtratighus is Marg Al Shahm;<sup>9</sup> and its army consists of fifteen thousand men; and with him are three turmukhs [τουρμάρχαι]. And in this province is 'Ammuriya [Amorion], which is at the present day waste, and Balis [Barbalissos] and Manbig [Hierapolis] and Mar'ash [Germanikeia],<sup>10</sup> and that is the fortress of Burghuth.

Turkish origin, and the name is here spelt differently. For 'Naikus' we might by a change of points read 'Biyufus' or 'Babufus,' which might be a shortened form of Pompeiopolis, or 'Nifus' (= Sinope (?)). For 'Siwas' there is a variant 'Sulas.'

<sup>1</sup> The other boundaries and the seat of the στρατηγός have perhaps fallen out.

<sup>2</sup> 'τὸ καλούμενον...θέμα Ὀπτίματος οὐδεμίαν ἔχει κοινωνίαν πρὸς θέματα· εἰς γὰρ δουλείαν μόνην προσείληπται διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸ οἰκτρότατον καὶ μήτε τούρμαις μήτε δρογγαῖς τετιμημένον... εἰς γὰρ ὑπηρεσίαν ἐτέτακτο τῶν στρατιωτῶν.' Const. Porph. iii. p. 26.

<sup>3</sup> The omission of Buccellarii (so also Kudama) shows that at least at this time the Anatolic theme reached farther north than is usually supposed (see also p. 76, note 3), the boundary being probably the northern portion of the Sangarios. Jaubert's identification of Marg Al Shahm, the seat of the Anatolic στρατηγός, with Germa (see *J.H.S.* xix. p. 31) is therefore not impossible.

<sup>4</sup> With an alteration of points we may read 'Nitaya,' which closely resembles Nikaia. Kotyaion may also be suggested.

<sup>5</sup> The author can hardly mean to make Thrakesioi reach to the Hellespont, and Kudama distinctly makes the Khalig the W. and the Syrian Sea the S. boundary. The 'Khalig' must therefore here include the Aegean, which in the descriptions of Macedonia and Talaya is included in 'the Sea of Al Sham.'

<sup>6</sup> The omission of Seleukeia (so also Kud.) is apparently an oversight of Al Garimi, since Thrakesioi is given among the boundaries of Seleukeia.

<sup>7</sup> Territorially it would appear that Thrakesioi was larger, but the author is probably thinking of the size of the army.

<sup>8</sup> The other boundaries have perhaps fallen out.

<sup>9</sup> See *J.H.S.* xviii. p. 190 note 1; xix. p. 31 *ad fin.* The reading of Ibn Khurd. however, which is unpointed, seems to be meant for 'Burg Al Takhm' (tower of the boundary), for which 'Marg Al Shahm' should no doubt be restored with De Goeje from Al Idrisi.

<sup>10</sup> The occurrence of these three names in this place is very puzzling. Hierapolis was not Byzantine till 968, and Barbalissos cannot have been so earlier, nor can any of the three

And by the side of it in the direction of the sea is the province of Seleukeia; and its first boundary is the sea of Al Sham, and its second the province of Al Brakisis, and its third the province of Al Natulikus, and its fourth the passes of Tarsos in the direction of Kalamiya [Zephyrion]<sup>1</sup> and Al Lamis [Lamos].<sup>2</sup> And the name of the ruler of this province is khisliyug [κλεισουράρχης],<sup>3</sup> and his rank is lower than that of the imtratighus; and the meaning of the word is 'ruler of the passes,' and it is said that the meaning is 'the king's face';<sup>4</sup> and his seat is Seleukeia by Antakhiya [Antioch].<sup>5</sup>

Next there adjoins it the province of Al Kubadhak [Cappadocia]; and its first boundary is the mountains of Tarsos and Adana and Al Massisa [Mopsouestia], and its second the province of Seleukeia,<sup>6</sup> and its third the province of Tulighus<sup>7</sup> [Anatolikoi], and its fourth the province of Al Samalar [Buccellarii] and Kharshana [Charsianon]; and the seat of the khisliyug is the fortress of Kura [Koron];<sup>8</sup> and its army consists of four thousand men. And in it are many strong fortresses, and among its districts are Kuriya or Kuniya [Ikonion?]<sup>9</sup> and Malakuniya [Malakopea] and Gardiliya (?) and others.

And adjoining it is the province of Kharshana [Charsianon]; and its first boundary is the province of Al Kuyar [Cappadocia]; and its second the pass of Malatiya [Melitene], and its third the province of the Armeniakoi, and

have been in the Anatolic theme. Moreover Ibn Khurd. places Burghuth in the Anatolic theme, but without identifying it with Mar'ash, which was not in his time Byzantine. Nor can this be an insertion of Yakut, in whose time these places had long been lost to the Empire. Probably therefore there is some corruption and the words belong to another context.

<sup>1</sup> See Tomaschek in *Sitzungsber. d. Wiener Akad.* cxxiv. VIII. p. 67.

<sup>2</sup> Either the river or the town may be meant. Between Seleukeia and Al Lamis Al Mas'udi mentions a fort which De Goeje prints as 'Bukiya.' There is however a variant 'Brakiya' or 'Brakana,' and no doubt Prakana is meant (cf. Tomaschek p. 60).

<sup>3</sup> The translation following shows this to be the title meant, and Seleukeia is in fact called a κλεισούρα by Const. Porph. (iii p. 35); cf. Theoph. Cont. p. 181. Wüstenfeld however corrects the word to 'khiliyarg' = χηλιαρχος. This is no doubt also the meaning of Ibn Khurd.'s expression, 'and its wali is the ruler of the passes,' which is obscured in De Goeje's translation.

<sup>4</sup> This no doubt refers to the title ἐκ προσώπου, of which several examples are found on seals (Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'Empire Byzantin*, p. 576 ff.); cf. also Const. Porph. iii.

p. 230; i. pp. 715, 729.

<sup>5</sup> The obscure Antioch in Isauria must apparently be meant, but even this is eighty miles from Seleukeia. Moreover the preposition should rather mean 'as far as,' and the omission of the strength of the army perhaps points to some words having fallen out. Read perhaps, 'and its army consists of 5,000 men (Kud.), and it reaches from Seleukeia' to Antakhiya.'

<sup>6</sup> So Kudama. This shows that, as we should expect, the κλεισουραρχίαι of Seleukeia and Cappadocia now adjoined one another and were not divided by a piece of Anatolikoi, as in the maps of Menke and Gelzer. Al Mas. however extends Anatolikoi to the frontier and places Herakleia in it, so that a change had been made before 863.

<sup>7</sup> V.L. 'Tulifus,' which differs only by a point from Tulikus.

<sup>8</sup> 'φρούριον τὸ καλούμενον Κόρον' (Const. iii. p. 21). See also *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xv. p. 742 and Ramsay *H.G.* p. 355.

<sup>9</sup> Ikonion was in the Anatolic theme (Const. iii. p. 16), and Yakut at the end states that it was not mentioned by Ibn Al Fakih. Probably therefore the name is corrupt. Ibn Khurd. has 'Karniya' or 'Kutiya' and Al Mas. 'Karniya' or 'Kunana.' Kanna may perhaps be suggested.

its fourth the province of the Buccellarii; and the seat of the khisliyug is the fortress of Kharshana; and its army consists of four thousand men. And among the fortresses in it are Kharshana and Dhariga,<sup>1</sup> [Saricha]<sup>2</sup> and Ramhasu (?) and Barukta (?) and Makhathiri (?).

Next there adjoins it the province of Al Balaghar [Buccellarii]; and its first boundary is the province of Al Natulikus, and its second Al Kubadhak and Kharshana, and its third the province of the Armeniakoi, and its fourth the province of Aflaguniya<sup>3</sup>; and the seat of the imtratighus is Ankyra, in which is the tomb of Amru'l Kais (and it is mentioned in its place)<sup>4</sup>; and its army consists of eight thousand men, and with its ruler are two turmukhs; and in it are fortresses and many districts.

Next there adjoins it the province of the Armeniakoi; and its first boundary is the province of Aflaguniya, and its second the province of the Buccellarii, and its third Kharshana, and its fourth Galdiya [Chaldia]<sup>5</sup> and the sea of the Chazars; and the seat of the imtratighus is the fortress of Amaseia; and its army consists of nine thousand men; and with him are three turmukhs: and in it are many districts and fortresses.

Next there adjoins it the province of Galdiya [Chaldia]; and its first boundary is the district of Armenia (and its inhabitants are at variance with the Romans<sup>6</sup> and are contiguous to Armenia), and its second the sea of the Chazars, and its third the province of the Armeniakoi, and its fourth also the province of the Armeniakoi; and the seat of the imtratighus is Ikrita,<sup>7</sup> and its army consists of ten thousand men, and with him are two turmukhs; and in it are districts and fortresses. Al Hamadhani says: And this is the whole number of the provinces of the Romans which are known to us on the land. Over each province among them is a wali representing the king, who is called the imtratighus, except the ruler of Al Antimat, and he is called the domestic, and the ruler of Seleukeia and the ruler of Kharshana, and each of these is called the

<sup>1</sup> *V.I.* 'Sariga.'

<sup>2</sup> See Ramsay *H. G.* p. 312. There is some difficulty about the occurrence of this name here, since in Theoph. Cont. p. 369 we read of 'τὸν ἐν τῇ Σιριχῇ σταυρόν,' and from Const. iii. p. 225 we learn that 'ἡ τοπογραφία τοῦ τιμίου σταυροῦ' was transferred from Buccellarii to Charsianon by Leo. Either there were two 'σταυροί,' or the place had been at an earlier time transferred from Charsianon to Buccellarii.

<sup>3</sup> The omission of the sea among the boundaries shows that the statement above as to the Paphlagonian theme (see p. 73, note 9), is not a mere slip. A similar deduction as to the extension of Anatolikoi may be made from the omission of Opsikion (see p. 74, note 3). Optimatoi, which is given among the boundaries by Kudama, has probably been omitted by an oversight.

<sup>4</sup> Clearly an insertion of Yakut, in whose work the story of Amru'l Kais is recorded under 'Ankyra.' It is not unlikely that the whole reference to Amru'l Kais is due to him.

<sup>5</sup> From these boundaries we might at first sight infer that the Armeniac theme did not at this time extend to the frontier but was separated from it by Chaldia and Charsianon. As however Chaldia is not mentioned among the boundaries of Charsianon or *vice versa*, the omission of Thughur Al Gazira among the boundaries of Armeniakoi seems to be only an oversight.

<sup>6</sup> The Paulicians are perhaps meant; but, if so, the passage can hardly date earlier than 843. Moreover their chief centre was in the Armeniac theme.

<sup>7</sup> See *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xv. p. 740.

khisliyug.<sup>1</sup> And over each of the fortresses of the Romans is a man stationed in it who is called barkilis(?),<sup>2</sup> who judges among its inhabitants.

*Comment by Yakut.*

I say: These regions and names seem to me to belong to former days, and I do not think that they still exist at the present time, but the names of the districts and the names of those chief towns have been changed: and of the important places which we know to exist to-day in the districts of the Romans in the hands of the Moslems and of the Christians not one is recorded, such as Kuniya<sup>3</sup> and Aksara [Archelais]<sup>4</sup> and Antakhiya<sup>5</sup> and Atrabizunda [Trebizond] and Siwas<sup>6</sup> as well as others of the most celebrated in their districts. But indeed I have recorded it as it is recorded; and God knows.

E. W. BROOKS.

#### ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO *J.H.S.* XIX. Pr. 19-33.

P. 20 l. 3 ff. Prof. De Goeje points out that Al Mas'udi (*Tanbih* p. 166) rightly places the retreat in A.H. 100.

P. 26 note 2. The name Serantapechos occurs also in Theoph. A.M. 6295, where Kedrenos has Tessarakontapechys. A Constantine Tessarakontapechys is mentioned in the time of Michael II (Genesios p. 48).

P. 28 l. 20. Prof. De Goeje points out to me that in place of 'the victory was gained by this artifice' the rendering should be 'this artifice became manifest.'

P. 31 l. 18. The whole of Al Tabari is now published. The extract given under A.H. 33 is cited by him from Al Wakidi.

#### CORRECTIONS TO *J.H.S.* XVIII. P. 208.

L. 6. Through misreading a letter I rendered this wrongly. It should be 'called the pass of Al Hadath Al Salama [safety] on account of [*i.e.* to avoid] the ill omen, because . . . . ., and that was the disaster (hadath) etc.'

L. 14. For 'king of the summer-raids,' read 'master of the summer-raids' ('mālikh,' not 'mālikh').

L. 18. For 'divided the captured arrows,' read 'distributed the spoil.'

<sup>1</sup> The author has also applied this title to the governor of Cappadocia. He omits to note that the commander of Opsikion was called count.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly *κομμερκίδριος*.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 75, note 9.

<sup>4</sup> See Ramsay, *H. G.* p. 285.

<sup>5</sup> *I.e.* Antioch in Pisidia.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 73, note 10.